



THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

DON FERNANDO OF PORTUGAL REFUSES THE CROWN OF SPAIN—MANEUVERS OF THE CORTES—A PETIT COUNCIL D'ETAT IN THE CORTES.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

MADRID, April 11.—Last Monday was made a holiday here, on the occasion of the Festival of the Incarnation. The day proper was the Thursday preceding, but the Business Committee of the Cortes decided that the proceedings of that assembly should not be interrupted, and that Monday should be observed as the holiday. The Church observed the festival; not as usual, for divine service the whole day through in the rule. On this occasion, masses were said only until ten in the morning. The people, however, took the day as a matter of course, and the Monday alone, sojoyed two holidays instead of one. The Church—acting under the influence of the Bishops—sulked, and no special public service was performed. The Cortes did not meet, and public business suffered a loss in consequence. The incident in itself, as a solitary fact, would not be worth recording, but it has a great bearing on the history of the hour, and will show to what petty devices the leaders of the majority are obliged to recur to promote the ends of the party. The difficulty remains which has existed from the outset. A monarch is wanted for the proposed monarchy. Señor Olazaga had assured the Ministry that Don Fernando would accept the crown if pressed. At the meeting of the monarchical partisans, held on the 31st of March, it was determined that fresh overtures should be made, indirectly, just to ascertain the real feelings of the King. On the 3d, nothing favorable had come of them; and as the discussion upon the Constitution, as a whole, threatened to expose every day more and more the weakness of the majority, a second meeting was held, on the evening of that day, which was attended by the principal members of the coalition, and at which the decision was adopted of sending an unofficial deputation to Lisbon to sound Don Fernando personally. As this proposition had already been more or less under discussion privately, Señor Rivera announced, on the course of the sitting on the 3d, that the Cortes would not sit on the 5th. The object of this suspension was to afford a little more time to the Commissioners, Señor Olazaga and Don Alvaro, to execute their official instructions, and their departure was publicly announced. Considerable doubts, however, were expressed on this point. The indiscretion of such a proceeding was obvious, but no one seemed able to ascertain whether the Commission has really set out or not, and the perplexity was augmented by the fact that neither of the Commissioners showed. It turned out neither left Madrid. Probably in consequence of telegraphic information sent to Lisbon, to prepare the way for the Commissioners, Don Fernando deemed it desirable to take a decisive step, and it was already rumored on Monday, the 5th, that the Portuguese Minister had received a telegram conveying Don Fernando's decision not to accept the crown of Spain. This rumor was confirmed on Tuesday, the 6th, by the publication of the message, with the addition that Don Fernando would not even receive the Commissioners—a rebuff of unmistakable dimensions, which took the public by surprise as well as the monarchical party. It is said the first intimation of Don Fernando's views reached Madrid in the course of Sunday, and that this checked the departure of Señors Olazaga and Alvaro. This, however, was of no importance. The great fact remained, that Don Fernando had decidedly, formally, declared that his pretensions to the crown of Spain must be considered as finally at an end. Of course this incident could not pass *sub silentio* in the Cortes. On the 7th, García López (Republican) interpellated the Government on the facts of the case. The defense was Jesuitical to a degree. The receipt of the telegram was not to be denied, but some misunderstanding had occurred. No official overtures had been made to Don Fernando, and in the opinion of the ministry, the ex-King of Portugal had shown a little haste in refusing a crown which Spain had not in fact tendered to him. Of course, this defense, although strictly in accordance with fact, is, after all, most specious and transparent, and deceived nobody. Castelar put the point admirably by asking why a telegram had not been sent to Don Fernando demanding why he had "despised the crown of Spain when nobody had offered it to him?" This the Ministry is not likely to do. The simple fact seems to be that Don Fernando has, from the first day his name came up in connection with the plans of the Monarchists here, consistently, persistently, intimated in private what he has ever stated officially; but, finding that the Ministerial party continued to make use of his name, he felt compelled to declare his decision. His refusal puts an end to the hopes of the coalition, for it renders a monarchy impossible in Spain, at any rate until another revolution in an anti-Republican sense shall have proved that the Spanish nation is unfit for a Republic. But before such a revolution comes, we must have the Republic, and all parties now appear to be rapidly coming to the conclusion that its establishment is inevitable, either in the form of a Directorate, or of a Directorate of Five, or of a responsible Ministry governing through the Cortes direct, or by a President. *La Reforma*, the organ of the Monarchical Democrats, whose chief is Rivera, now declares this must be the solution of the situation, and that as Don Fernando has declined the crown, all other candidates are impossible, and it is therefore support none that may be brought forward. We shall soon have the coalition majority reduced to its constituent elements. The Republic has been long imminent, and been averted only by what is here called "management." The divisions on the various points of the Constitution are innumerable. Those who support it—more or less feebly—do it as a whole, attack it with more or less ferocity in detail. Of course the minority clasp it tenderly, both in detail and as a whole. Up to the present moment, its friends have done it as much harm as its enemies, and it seems impossible to recover from the terrible onslaught made upon it by Castelar, in a speech which elicited the admiration and eulogies even of Señor Olazaga, himself a master in the art of Parliamentary oratory. It was fully expected that yesterday the crisis in the history of the majority would be brought about. It was deferred by a coup d'état on a tiny scale, executed by Señor Rivera. Time is a great object with the Ministerial party. There is another royal candidate under consideration, and although the chances of the Duke of Aosta are utterly nil, those who cling to the monarchical idea will not readily give it up. The delay, therefore, just now, is of moment. In the second place, an interpellation of a formidable kind by García López on the question of the form of government, and arising out of the refusal of Don Fernando, had to be staved off. A day or two would be invaluable. Thirdly, Señor Cánovas de Castillo, a member of the majority, announced to speak yesterday, on a "point of rectification," had that to say which would inevitably break up the coalition. The Cortes met alone, as usual, and Cánovas de Castillo was seen engaged in an animated conversation with Señor Rivera. The Deputies present were few, as always happens when the daily session commences, but, as usual, they were in the lobbies. Suddenly, as the minute hand of the dial came on the quarter after the hour, the President rang his bell, and said, "As the regulation prescribes that if a sufficient number of members to make a House are not present at a quarter past one, the session may be declared closed, I do declare this sitting is prorogued till Monday." The trick was smart. The object of delay is gained. In the interval there is time to work the majority, and perhaps once more to heal the divisions which have continually menaced the integrity of the party. Serrano was thundered at, on coming in, to find there had been a count

out, and all the deputies protested against the mystification. But Rivera was legally right; the trick was done, there was no help for it. It may, however, be safely assumed these petty shifts will not save the position. Every day the discussion on the Constitution as a whole becomes more animated, and exposes its vulnerable points as tested not only by the Cadiz programme, but by the Ministerial circular to the electors, in which distinct promises are made, all of which are violated more or less in the Constitution. These preliminary debates were expected to terminate yesterday. They will now probably be protracted till Tuesday. Then will commence the more important discussion of the articles. To all there are amendments, to some as many as six. The first refers to the First Article, declaring to be Spaniards all persons born in the Spanish dominions. The amendment proposes the insertion of the words "without distinction of race or color." It is asserted by the framers of the draft that this addition is unnecessary; hence the article, as it stands, is intended to embrace "all persons." The Abolitionists object, that in this case there can be no valid objections to the acceptance of the amendment, because it will place the question beyond the possibility of doubt. The House will be divided upon it if necessary. The Independent Progressists have prepared an amendment of a more radical kind, intended to supply the omission of the original Article 5, declaring the principle of emancipation. It is to this effect: "Slavery is abolished in all the dominions of Spain. A law shall determine the mode of emancipating all slaves now existing in them." The only drawback to this proposition is that it may be adopted only when emancipation in Cuba is an actual fact. If the Provisional Government had dealt with the question at the outset, the Cuban difficulty would not have been complicated.

THE ARTS IN ITALY.

MOZAIC ART WORK FOR WOMEN.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

VENICE, April 10.—Summed to Venice on business at the commencement of the month, I paid a visit, as usual, to the Anglo-Italian Glass and Mosaic Company, in Campo S. Vio, on the Grand Canal, and this time came away with the conviction that a similar establishment in America might furnish easy, pleasant, and lucrative work for hundreds of women who have neither a turn for teaching nor taste for doctoring, and who have not yet found the other "half," who would take and be taken for better, for worse, with whom to cast in their lot.

On the books of the establishment I saw orders for enamel mosaic from California and New York, and demands for price lists from Washington, proving that not only in the old world, but in the new, Ghirlandajo's saying that "Mosaic is the only painting for eternity," is being at length practically appreciated. On benches and on the floors of the various studios of the establishment 40 or 50 men and lads were at work; some copying in enamel Fra Beato's angels for English churches, others working from an original and very beautiful design of the Last Supper for an altar piece, some piecing tombstones, others brooches and bracelets, while numbers were occupied in elaborating façades for churches, houses, and shops. In the studio the two chief artists were completing one the drapery, the other the face of a life-size portrait for the Kensington Museum, while on the ground floor the greater number were picking up pieces, repairing, or remanufacturing entirely the old mosaics from the Cathedral of St. Mark's. With the administration of this Cathedral the Company has entered into a contract for the entire repairs of the mosaic pavements and the colossal subjects on the domes and ceilings, to be completed in 14 years, 20,000 francs to be paid annually for the labor only. Twelve figures are already completed and replaced, with such exactitude that looking upward from the new from the old. The originals were the work of the Thirteenth Century artists, and their decay is owing to the subsidence in the walls, not to any defect either in the enamel, the cement, or the labor, since the *tessece* still adhere to the cement, and with the exception of the flesh tints retain their pristine colors. All these repairs, and also the new works, are, as we have said, executed in the establishment in Campo S. Vio, for whereas, the old mosaics work toilfully and painfully, standing on scaffolding with uplifted arms to fix the *tessece* on the actual walls or roofs, the modern patron of this exquisite art—Sig. Salviati—has, by the simplest process, enabled his pupils to work with as much ease as miniature painters at their easel. A copy of the subject is traced on a rough paper covered with common paste, and on this the enamels are fixed with their surface downward. When completed the subject is carefully packed and conveyed to its destination, the upper, rough surface fixed on cement already laid on the wall or ceiling, then the paper and paste are washed off the facing, and the subject remains complete.

In this manner 160 square metres of mosaic work have been executed in this establishment, some of them exquisite miniatures, such as the portraits of Columbus and Marco Polo, for which the Municipality of Venice paid 13,000 fr.; others for the Kensington Museum, for which 2,500 each was paid; the remainder monumental mosaic, which costs about 50 fr. per square foot. The sum realized for the 160 metres is 30,250 fr. Fifty workmen are employed in this department. I asked the director if he took apprentices. He said: "No; they would waste our time, which is the article of which we have least to spare, but our pupils come to us chiefly from the Venetian Academy. At first I had great hopes of employing women, but I have now given up the idea, owing to the impossibility of finding any girls in Venice with a decent knowledge of drawing." This remark set me thinking how easy it would be for a few enterprising American women, who possess a fair knowledge of drawing, to come over and learn the mosaic art thoroughly, and return to their own country to furnish ornamental, pictorial, and monumental mosaic to all who require a decoration which alone defies wind, smoke, and water.

Should this Mosaic art ever become fashionable in America, it will be a question whether the enamels should be imported or manufactured. The art of making enamels is certainly more difficult than that of putting them together, and it is the general opinion that those produced at Murano, first by Lorenzo Prati, in this century, and now by the Anglo-Italian Company. The colored enamels which are formed of the same materials of which common glass is made, with the addition of certain mineral substances, depends for opaqueness, solidity and softness of hue and color, chiefly on the degree and continuance of heat to which they are subjected in the process of fusion, and also on the careful elaboration of the different elements. I have seen blocks come out of the furnace as dull as brick, or transparent as window glass; in either case unfit to render the effect of painting. The gold and silver enamels in which a gold or silver leaf is imprisoned by the action of fire between a ground of thick glass below and a film of the purest glass above, are still more difficult to bring to perfection; but in this, as in all cases, "practice makes perfect."

Before leaving my favorite haunt on the Campo Vio let me say a word about the glass-blowing department, which has progressed in like proportion to the mosaic. Not only have all the lost secrets of the past been recovered, but new combinations of color, form, and composition—but new combinations of *paste* and new methods of assimilation are daily being evolved from the fairy fingers of the glass-blowers of Murano. The largest and most elaborate glass chandelier ever manufactured has just been sent home to Prince Giovannielli, who has ordered five others for his ball-room overlooking the Grand Canal. It has 30 candlesticks on the lower and 18 on the upper tier, and between the two floors and leaves that seem plucked from the Spring-enslaving fields. The vase, usually so heavy and vacant, are garlanded with flowers, and the effect of the whole, when lighted, is fairly like

FRANCE.

DISCUSSING THE CONSTITUTION—THE ELECTION QUESTION—OFFICIAL CANDIDIDATES—INDIRECT BRIBERY—FRENCH FINANCES—A NEW DOCUMENT CONCERNING SERRAT AND THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

PARIS, April 9.—The right of discussing the Address, that is, of discussing the foreign and home policy of Government, which had been granted as a due privilege to the Corps Legislatif a few years before, was withdrawn by the famous January letter of 1867. Discussion of the Constitution by any body had been previously forbidden by a high solemn *Senatus consultum*. Under quite a variety of titles and pretexts the home policy of Government and the Constitution have been the constant subject of discussion that began last week, and is still going on in the Chamber.

Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret, Et mala purperat fortis fastidia victor. Where there is a will there is a way. The will grows even bolder and more animated in forcing a free way; and it is yet more remarkable to note the new recruits who walk therein—members of the majority and even ministers following more or less willingly and timidly in the forbidden path opened by the Ministry. If M. Thiers, despite the President's attempt to arrest him, lays out a pretty complete programme of constitutional reform, Minister Rouher needs must after him, though he travels under protest. Three years ago and less, the President would have saved him the pains, not by attempting to stop M. Thiers, but by stopping him short at the outset. Times have changed since the fall of Richmond, which I take have not for a dead change, but for an associate sign and cause of the change. Nothing is more evident, on the slightest study of comparative polity than the solidarity of the old and new world in this regard.

All ways lead to Rome. It does not much matter what nominally is the question before the House, the debate is constantly colored by and turns more or less directly on the election question. That is the predominant question henceforth till the 31st of May, with ministers, members, and the thinking part of the nation.

I was speaking of Thiers's programme of Constitutional reform. A prominent feature of this programme, set forward by the skillful old Parliamentarian with great force of argument, was the responsibility of Ministers—the direct contradiction to the Constitution of the Year Eight, reëdited by Louis Napoleon in 1852, and the absolute negation of its essential, personal quality. After protesting against the discussion of such a proposition—which is strictly illegal as per *Senatus Consultum* aforesaid, and which he had already been trapped into protesting against and discussing a few weeks ago in the Senate—M. Rouher, with his usual cleverness and "sincerity," rejected, and, in his manner, refuted it. But in fact we are come near to ministerial responsibility—so near that many think the Emperor will, by *Senatus Consultum* or *Plébiscite*, himself propose to formally admit it despite his radical aversion to such sacrifice of his personality. As in that curious letter narrating his evasion from Ham, of which I sent you a translation the other day, he mimics his uncle's letter to his uncle Joseph of February 8, 1814, and intimates that he too, like the great Napoleon, was up to the Roman heroism of dodging ill luck by suicide, so now many think that he may mimic the *acte additionnel* of 1815, and "crown the edifice" with ministerial responsibility—after the elections. It is notable that the rumor is in the air—not so much for the sake of the rumor as for the change of air. Meantime, whatever may be the slowly maturing purpose of the Emperor, ministerial responsibility germinates from the "situation," and is close on to fruition by the forcing process of things. When, a few weeks ago, in the great Hausmann debate, the majority seemed menacingly wavering in its fidelity, Rouher, it is well known, in order to bring them up to the mark, emphasized his argument of coax and scare by private declarations to the recalcitrant that if he could not carry their voices he would resign. Mr. Rouher's career has furnished abundant instances in proof that his word is as good only as his Mexican bonds; but in this case he might have kept it. At any rate it is apparent that however armed with robustness of cheek and triple brass, no Minister could long hold his place on the talking bench against a majority, and that even with a large minority of Left and Center Left he must keep it by a quite different tenure from his present holding.

And so the impending elections, which menace some increase of the Left and a formidable augmentation of the Center Left, that is of Conservative Liberals, are the absorbing preoccupation of Government. One of the points about which the battle rages fiercest is the system of official candidatures. Minister Focacé, less brilliant but calmer and abler debater than Rouher, while defending the Central system surrendered important outposts. He formally announced that henceforth—with discreet qualifications—Government admitted in principle and would, to a considerable extent, observe in practice, an attitude of neutrality. Hitherto there have been but friends and enemies. In 1863 it was enjoined on Prefects and their subordinates to resist by all the pretensions and forcible means in their control, the pretensions of independent candidates, however sincerely ardent and proved their dynastic devotion, with, if possible, more zeal than avowedly Democratic or Orleanist opponents.

Although bribery in the manner we or the English practice it, for election purposes, is nearly unknown in France; although no unscrupulous partisan has ever pretended that the administration here is guilty of such "wholesale bribery and corruption" as each of the great patriotic parties, that dispute principles and the spoils with us, through their most acceptable organs, constantly charge upon the other; although, in fine, Plaquemine, and New-York, and Pennsylvania—if the most respectable organs of either party are to be believed—are but another evidence that in this, as in all departments of human activity, "American enterprise" far outdoes the pigny efforts of effete Europeans, it still remains sadly true that the purity of elections in France is considerably on the wrong side of perfection. It is not from any better will in wrong-doing, but from the exorbitant superiority of its machinery—at once inclosing the whole country, and working with the nicest detailed accuracy, comprehensive and concentrated to a degree undreamed of with us—that the French administration can bear on the elections with an influence far more effective than the worst of American Presidents could hope to exercise. This is formidably strengthened by numerous peculiarly French conditions, the great base of which is the ignorance of the masses in the provinces.

The debates of the last few days have dealt much with what is practically bribery—a sort of collective bribery, which Government candidates alone can practice. In the electoral district of such a one, roads, bridges, canals, churches, are needed to be built or improved. He gives out, at the convenience of the Administration, that appropriations for these things are made, and will be made at his solicitation. What is done in that way, he helped out always by the lesser authorities, is permitted and aided to represent, as due to his influence, though the appropriations in large part are, and legally ought, always to be allotted according to the wants of the district, the measure and claim of which are theoretically decided on by the impassionate Administration after due examination and reports of its agents. The way it works is this: The church or Town Hall or bridge in A's district has needed repair or rebuilding any time these five years; this year 3,000 francs are appropriated to the work. At the same time that the local authority is informed of the fact, it is directed to inform the inhabitants that they owe a debt of 3,000

francs of gratitude to Mr. A, the candidate proposed by the Government for the May elections.

The radical objection to the system of official candidatures is that they represent, not as with us, the principles of one of the two parties that are always contesting with and alternately yielding to the other the control of the national policy, nor yet the local wants and wishes of their district, but specially and before all the one man at Paris whose nominees they are. So that they are, in a sort, his barrel organs set to play pre-fixed tunes and precluded from breathing national airs. It is plain enough that, in contrast with independent candidates, they have both the immense advantage of promising benefits, with some show of fulfillment and of having their promises set before the people and enhanced in seeming value by the thousand and one official means at the disposal of their masters.

A part of the debate on political matters and things in general, some points of which I have touched upon, took place on the text of interpellating. It is going on under the rubric of the Budget, and so intermittently and occasionally turns on finances. These, of course, ministerial speeches represent as being at last and really, truly, this time in a blooming healthy condition. Finance Minister Magne is a very Mark Tapley, and turns up jolly annually. With a carelessness proper to jovial persons, he opened his reply to old Garnier Pages—a treasury watch dog, who, unluckily for tax-payers, can only growl, but not protect—by saying M. Pages's argument being but the repetition of his last year's speech, I can only reply to it by repeating mine of that date. Now the noteworthy fact is that Minister Magne overlooks in his jolly way, that the grumbling prophecies of Pages and other opposition Casanovas have steadily been fulfilled by events a few years after delivery. They have constantly criticised the mismanagement of the finances, as leading inevitably to deficit, covered for a while by augmentation of the floating debt, and then liquidated by a loan. And just that has been the repeatedly recurrent process: floating debt grown so heavy it won't float, or another device of the camel sort—loans in disguise—and then a big loan to fund all and finally for good initiate the financial millennium of annual balances. Whereby the national debt has something like doubled since 1852.

But more singular than the economizing amendments sustained by Pages and Magne with their strong but monotonous logic, was one that originated with that fraction of the old majority who are fast developing into a Conservative-Liberal, Center-Left third party, which Government must henceforth count with—if it is to exist. It was very moderate and modest in form and spirit, as was the discourse pronounced in its defense by M. Lourte. Note, if you please, that Monsieur Lourte was proposed and elected by Government order and aid; that the conservative and dynamic quality of his opinions is above reproach. Well, he mildly commended economical reforms which reach, as it were, to the most intimate personal specialties and favorite fancies of the Emperor himself. He recommended the abolition of at least some of the great and expensive military commands into which Napoleon, some years ago, and quite of his own head, divided the territory of France, placing his favorite Marshals at the head of them; and what is, if possible, more irreverent, advised that the *Garde Impériale*—another of the expensive devices of the Emperor—should be at least considerably reduced.

As helps to appreciate the motion and speech of Mr. Lourte and the reach of their significance, bear in mind that for the first four or five years of his legislative term, now on the eve of closing, he made no motion but to not assent, no speech longer than *très bien!* when Minister Rouher was demolishing the Opposition; that he wants to be re-elected next May, and wants to be an official candidate, but also feels the want of support in public opinion. Like all the legislative orators now, he spoke for Ducommun. This is the great proof of the progress going on in France; there is for the first time a beginning, a developing, as the Germans would say, a *Werdende*, in French Ducommun.

Yesterday's number of your worthy Paris namesake, *La Tribune*, contains a remarkable document respecting Surratt and the relations of that Pontifical Zouave and the United States to the Holy Roman See. I have not time nor room for a full translation. The summary of it is as follows: It is communicated to the editor of the *Tribune* by a member of the Zouave regiment to which Surratt belonged, who, as will appear, speaks with absolute knowledge for an essential part of the narrative: "After being concealed for some months by the Bishop of Montreal, that prelate secured a passage for Surratt for Rome, recommending him warmly to Monsignor Chigi, the Papal Nuncio at Paris; Chigi provided Surratt with a passport, and sent him on with strong recommendations to the director of the American College at Rome, whose recommendation, backed by that of Antonelli, secured him admission to the Pontifical Zouaves. So soon as Antonelli, who preliminarily denied all knowledge of the criminal and his works, promised the United States Consul that Surratt should be delivered up, he dispatched a military almoner, the Abbe D., who has since become a Monsignor, two hours in advance of his official order, to warn Surratt, who was supposed to be at Veroli. By accident the Abbe missed him, but communicated the object of his visit to a lieutenant of zouaves. When Surratt was taken, a few hours later, and put under guard to be sent to Rome, this lieutenant planned with an Irish zouave one of the means of escape for Surratt which was executed. This had for first result an order for the court-martialing of McCrossan, who chose the present narrator for his defender. Looking into the case then, the defender was told by the lieutenant that his client need have no fear; that after condemnation he would be pardoned. The defender aiming at acquittal, not pardon, went to the colonel of the regiment, who, the lieutenant had told him, had been cognizant of the whole business up to and inclusive of the Abbe D.'s visit. To the defender's application that the trial should be quashed, the Colonel at first said: "Whatever I may have known as a private individual, as Colonel I only received and transmitted an order for the seizure of Wasson (Surratt's assumed name as per Chigi passport). Whoever has enabled him to escape must answer for his conduct before a court martial. Make no application to minister or cardinal or I will have you put under arrest; and remember that at the trial you are not to mention the name of Surratt; a prisoner named Wasson has escaped, those who aided him are responsible; say nothing of the Minister, nor of the visit of the Abbe D., nor pronounce the name of the fugitive; we do not know who he is and any attempt of yours in that direction would be useless, you would have your month stopped." When asked by the defender showed Col. McCrossan's written deposition, the defenders showed Col. McCrossan's written deposition, and he changed his tune. The trial was put off, and McCrossan afterward released. Meantime the facts of the affair transpiring, some of the officers of the regiment, holding the conduct of the Lieutenant dishonorable and unworthy, asked his removal from the regiment, which, after great resistance, and on the threat that they would resign, was at last effected; but he is still in eminent office and favor in a different department of the Papal service. The show of punishment at one time meted out to him, and several other tardy shows of justice, were only executed to the discontented faithful as justifiable measures to keep up appearances toward the United States.

Longfellow is still at Naples. The climate agrees with him so well that he intends to stay longer than had been anticipated. The Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia lately had a narrow escape from a railway accident, a bridge falling through just after the royal train had passed it. The immediate consequence was that the Minister of Public Works lost his place.

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

CHARACTER OF THE ASIATIC IMMIGRATION—THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

Opposite our Western front, on the other shore of the Pacific, is a people whose numbers are variously estimated at from four to five hundred millions—more than the population of Europe, America, Africa, and Oceania combined. A people who possessed the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and the art of printing when our ancestors were yet barbarians, ere the walls of Rome had been traced or Greek civilization had begun to dawn.

Had it not been for the strange petrification, which, as though by the fiat of the Almighty, fell upon this people ages ago—had they made but a few steps forward in their utilization of the powers of nature, made of the junk a good sea boat, of gunpowder an effective instrument of destruction as well as a toy, universal history would have taken another direction, and America, if not the world, would to-day be Mongolian.

We have now gone by them far enough. In knowledge, power, and wealth, we surpass them more than two thousand years ago they surpassed the painted savages of the British Isles, yet they still retain their preeminence of numbers.

And now that the barriers that for ages have isolated these people from the rest of the world are being broken down, their mere numbers, if nothing else, make them a force of vast importance to the future of the rest of mankind. Four or five hundred millions of people are coming into the line of our attractions and repulsions, like some new Saturn taking up its place to circle round the sun.

Now that the race which started from the plains of Central Asia has completed in its march the circuit of the globe, China may wake from her sleep of ages, and learn from Western civilization; she may pass into the hands of intelligent conquerors, or be broken up into fragmentary provinces; but whether welded into a vast power, or to remain the political cypher she now is, the Chinese people, by the mere force of their numbers, must exercise an immense influence upon the rest of the world.

Look at the swarming that is possible from this vast human life! Consider that if all humanity were marshaled, every third man in the line would wear the queue and the blouse of a Chinaman; that this half billion people could throw off annually six, ten, twenty millions of emigrants, and this not merely without feeling the loss, but without there being any loss, for over-population keeps reproduction down, and new Chinamen would spring into the vacancies created by those who left as air into a vacuum.

According to the count of the six great Chinese Companies—to one or the other of which all, or nearly all of the Chinese upon the Pacific Coast belong—there are some 65,000 Chinamen in California and adjacent States and Territories. Knowing the jealousy with which they are regarded, the Chinese are disposed to understate their numbers, and it is probable that the true figures are nearer 100,000 than those given. Speaking roughly, they may be said to constitute at least one-fourth of the adult male population.

From San Diego to Sitka, and back into Montana, Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona, throughout the enormous stretch of country of which San Francisco is the commercial center, they are everywhere to be found. Every town and hamlet has its "Chinatown"—its poorest, meanest, and filthiest quarter, and wherever the restless prospectors open a new district, there, singly or in squads, appears the inevitable Chinaman.

Mining (that is, placer mining, for the Chinese have a superstitious fear of venturing into the bowels of the earth, which, with other causes, has hitherto kept them from engaging in deep mining), the washing of clothes, and kindred occupations, were the first branches of industry in which the Chinese engaged; but of late years there has been a great increase in the variety of their employments.

In the construction of the San Jose Railroad, in 1860, it was discovered that they were cheap and effective road builders; the Mission and Pioneer Woolen Mills found that they made first-class factory operatives, and now they are rapidly obtaining employment wherever patient manual labor, without any great amount of brain-work, is requisite. Large numbers are engaged as servants in families, hotels, &c., taking the places of girls in chamber-work and cooking, in which they become very expert. A large proportion of the Chinese immigration consists of boys from 10 to 15 years of age, who are immediately put out to service in families, where they soon pick up a knowledge of the language and of household duties. In fact, the Chinese are rapidly monopolizing employment in all the lighter branches of industry usually allotted to women, such as running sewing-machines, making paper bags and boxes, binding shoes, labeling and packing medicines, &c.

They are good gardeners, and their assiduous care produces the finest vegetables which enter the San Francisco and Sacramento markets. But with the exception of these little truck gardens, they as yet cultivate no land on their own account. Many of them are engaged in picking fruit and tending vineyards, but few in the heavier work of the farm, though individual cases here and there have demonstrated their capacity, and it is probable that before long the farmers of California will use their labor to a large extent.

But it would be easier to recount the industries in which Chinamen are not yet to some extent engaged than to mention those in which they are, and every day their employment is extending, as employers in one branch of production after another, discover that they can avail themselves of this cheap labor. They are not only grading railways and opening roads (work for which they are now altogether relied on cutting wood, picking fruit, tending stock, weaving cloth, and running sewing-machines; but acting as firemen upon steamers, running stationary engines, painting carriages, upholstering furniture, making boots, shoes, clothing, cigars, tin and wooden-ware.

Stand any at Clay and Sansome-sts., San Francisco, about six in the afternoon, and you will see long lines of Chinamen coming from American workshops. Pass up Jackson, Pacific, or Dupont-sts., into their quarter, and you may see them at work on their own account. Beside the stall where the Chinese butcher carves his varnished hog, or makes mince-meat of stowed fowl, with a cleaver such as was used by his fathers long before our Saviour sent the Devil into the swine, you may see Chinamen running sewing-machines, rolling cigars, or working up tin with the latest Yankee appliances. In front of the store window, in which great clumsy paper clogs and glistening anklets are displayed, and through which you may watch the bookkeeper casting up his accounts on an abacus, and entering them with a brush from right to left in his ledger, the Chinese cobblers sit half-solacing and "heel-tapping" "Mellian" boots. Underneath the Buddhist Temple a disciple of Confucius mends the time-pieces of the American Clock Company, and repairs Waltham watches. In the Mail Steamship Company's office a Chinese clerk will answer your inquiries in the best of English. And in one of the principal drug-stores of Sacramento a Chinaman will put up a prescription for you; or if your taste runs that way, in a saloon near by, a Chinaman will concoct for you a mint-julep or whisky-cocktail, while wherever you go, in hotel or boarding-house, it is more than probable that hands better used to the chop-stick than the fork prepared the food you eat, let it be called by what high-sounding French phrase it may.

The Chinese are willing, anxious, to learn anything that may prove of pecuniary value to them, and in spite of the difficulties which their total or partial ignorance of the language imposed, their patience and initiative faculty enable them to learn to work with surprising facility; and I would hesitate to say

that there is any manual trade in which they could not become efficient workers in a reasonable time. Certainly, if there is such a trade, one would think it would be that of type-setting; yet the composition upon the English newspapers published in China is done with great swiftness, and tolerable correctness, by natives who are ignorant of the meaning of any word they set up. And I know there is at least one man in San Francisco who contemplates the importation of a number of these printers, under contract for a term of years. The great objection in his mind, and an insuperable objection, at present, is the feeling that this would arouse.

The great characteristics of the Chinese as laborers are patience and economy—the first makes them efficient laborers, the second cheap laborers. As a rule they have not the physical strength of Europeans, but their steadiness makes up for this. They take less earth at a spadeful than an Irishman; but in a day's work take up more spadeful. This patient steadiness peculiarly adapts the Chinese for tending machinery and for manufacturing. The tendency of modern production is to a greater and greater subdivision of labor—to confine the operative to one part of the process, and to require of him close attention, patience, and manual dexterity, rather than knowledge, judgment, and skill. It is in these qualities that the Chinese excel. The superintendents of the cotton and woolen mills on the Pacific prefer the Chinese to other operatives, and in the same terms the railroad people speak of their Chinese graders, saying they are steadier, work longer, require less watching, and do not get up strikes or go on drunks. And one of them is reported as boasting that he would yet have Chinamen building and running his locomotives.

CHEAPNESS OF CHINESE LABOR.

But the great recommendation of Chinese labor is its cheapness. There are no people in the world who are such close economists as the Chinese. They will live, and live well, according to their notions, where an American or Englishman would starve. A little rice suffices them for food, a little piece of pork cooked with it constitutes high living, an occasional chicken makes it luxurious. Their clothes cost but little and last for a long while. Go into a Chinese habitation and you will see that every inch of space is utilized. A room ten by twelve will bunk a dozen besides affording workshop, kitchen, and dining-room. Pass through their quarters in the towns, and you will see that nothing that can possibly be used is thrown away, unless it be human labor. Chinamen of course, as other people, like luxuries, and indulge in them as far as they can, but their standard of comfort is very much lower than that of our own people—very much lower than that of any European immigrants who come among us. This fact enables them to underbid all competitors in the labor market. Reduce wages to the starvation point for our mechanics, and the Chinaman will not merely be able to work for less, but to live better than at home, and to save money from his earnings. And thus in every case in which Chinese comes into fair competition with white labor, the whites must either retire from the field or come down to the Chinese standard of living. Let us take the history of one trade to show what must be the result in all for which Chinese labor is adapted and into which it is introduced: About 1859 or 1860 Chinamen first began to be employed in the manufacture of cigars, a branch of industry which then supported quite a number of white workmen in San Francisco. These, of course, took the alarm, formed unions, adopted resolutions, published appeals, and sympathetic cigar dealers hung out signs, "No Coolies employed here." But it was no avail; the Chinamen quickly learned the trade (not as easy as one as the uninitiated might imagine), could work cheaper, and did work cheaper, and have completely driven out the whites. Large quantities of cigars are now made in San Francisco, but made entirely by Chinamen. They commenced, of course, by working for Americans; but, on learning the business, many of them set out for themselves, the Chinese employer having the same advantage as the Chinese workman, in being able to get along with a smaller profit; and on Jackson, Dupont, and Pacific-sts. are many large Chinese manufactories of cigars; while in many fatidic dens underground and out of sight the patient Chinaman rolls the fragrant *Havanas* or cheap "five-centers" which are to regulate the nostrils of the "Mellians" who despise him. This is the history of other trades in California, and from present appearances will shortly be the history of many more.

HOSTILITY TO THE CHINESE—UNEQUAL TAXATION.

That the Chinese population of our Pacific Coast is not now much larger, is due to the feeling that has existed against them. This feeling has been very strong, but at the present time is weakening, or rather is being counteracted. The early Chinese immigrants did not come into competition with any class or settled interest, great or small. As washermen, cooks, and servants they supplied the need of female labor, did not displace it, for there was comparatively none in the country to displace. Nor in the diggings did they struggle with the white miners for the rich claims, for such a struggle could have had only one result; but followed them as the jackal follows the lion, contented with diggings which the whites did not consider remunerative; had abandoned, but from which their economy and industry enabled them to extort large returns. After a placer mining district has been utterly exhausted and abandoned by whites, it will, for a long time, be worked by Chinamen, and with apparently satisfactory results, though, for obvious reasons, they endeavor to conceal their earnings as much as possible.

But though the Chinamen were thus contented with the white man's leavings, their presence from the first developed a strong adverse feeling, which found expression not only in legal enactments, but in many acts of oppression, violence, injustice, and imposition. A "Foreign Miners License Law" was early passed, which compelled Chinamen engaged in mining to pay a monthly tax of \$1 a head. Ostensibly the law applies to all foreign miners; but no one ever dreams of collecting it of any one but Chinamen. But it must be said, in justice to the white miners, that the sentiment which dictated this and kindred legislation, and which condoned, if it did not justify, the numerous extra legal exactions and outrages to which Chinamen have been subjected, was not a merely a blind race-hatred or a dog-in-the-manger feeling, provoked by seeing other people enjoy that which they could not use themselves. Their reasoning ran thus: "though we do not want the poorer diggings, which the Chinamen are working, we should have a care for those of our own race who will follow us. The day will come when wages in California will sink to an Eastern level, and when white men—white men with families depending on them—will be glad to find and work these poor diggings; and for these men we should see that they are reserved, and not permit them to be despoiled by the long-tailed barbarians, who have no interest in the country, and whose earnings do not add to its wealth."

This mining tax, which is collected rigorously and often cruelly (and which, by the way, has resulted as much to the profit of the collectors as to that of the State), is, with the exception of a hospital tax, collected upon landing—the only special tax that Chinamen are subjected to; but all other taxes fall upon them with more severity than upon the whites, the Chinamen being the first that the tax collector "goes for," and the last he leaves in peace. This accounts for the partiality of the mountain counties for poll taxes for road purposes, etc. Of these the Chinaman pays the lion's share. The California Legislature of 1861-2 imposed a special police tax of \$5 per month upon all Chinamen; but after being collected a few months the Supreme Court of California declared the act null and void, as being in conflict with treaty stipulations. An effort was made to pass a similar law at the last